

# THE EXAMINER.

"PROVE ALL THINGS; HOLD FAST THAT WHICH IS GOOD."

VOLUME II.

THE EXAMINER;  
A Weekly Journal, next door but one  
to the Post Office.  
TERMS.  
TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM, IN ADVANCE,  
SIX COPIES FOR TEN DOLLARS.  
PAUL SEYMOUR,  
PUBLISHER.

REVIEW

*On a Lecture on the North and the South, delivered in Cincinnati, January 15, 1849, by Edward Parker.*

Mr. Fisher is said to be a Quaker, and his Lecture was delivered before the Young Men's Library Association, in Cincinnati. These recitations are remarkable. The Friends or Quakers have, as a body, long protested against Slavery, as a violation of the right and of the Christian law of benevolence. Cincinnati is a free city, the product of free labor. Yet in the lot of this city, and within the limits of Ohio, which, fifty years ago, was a slave state, and is now one of the greatest and most flourishing Commonwealths in America, a blustering up and argues that slavery is a blessing to mankind—the produce of wealth, comfort and civilization, and therefore to be cherished and maintained forever by those who have the good fortune to possess its enviable advantages. Mr. Fisher argues to this effect throughout his Lecture. He attempts to demonstrate that the people of the Southern States are, by means of negro slavery, more wealthy, more comfortable, more civilized and more virtuous than those of the North, and that slaves of emancipation, present or prospective, are, if not impracticable, at least less expedient and dangerous to the welfare.

No Virginian or Kentuckian advocate of negro slavery, no South Carolina Nuttall, ever, so far as we know, exhibited in defense of the "peculiar institution," than Mr. Fisher, the Quaker of Cincinnati.

We have no right nor disposition to censure or entertain and expressing his views.

We only regret that he did not exhibit more candor and fairness in arguing for the cause which he espoused.

He professes to argue from statistical facts.

He, as it were, catches at a few here and there, as he finds them capable of being turned to his purpose of showing a superiority of wealth and comfort in the Slave-holding States. In the application of his facts, or, perhaps, facts, he adopts principles the most unreasonable, and reasoning the most falacious and absurd. To give an air of plausibility to them, he often resorts to scenes of expression, where exactness would not have served his turn; perverts facts, which, if fairly stated, would have been against his arguments; shifts his ground backwards and forwards, assuming false, positive positions at different times, to fit the immediate occasion, without regard to consistency, and utters a great deal of absurdity and nonsense with most philosophical gravity, to give an air of weight and profundity to his argument.

We are sorry to be obliged to censure his method of arguing with so much severity, but a regard to the general welfare of the South requires a just exposure of his pretensions, and we shall make good our charges by examples fairly quoted in his words, and demonstrated to be of the character that we have assigned them.

He begins with undertaking to show that during the first quarter of a century under our present form of government [that is, from 1790 to 1810] the South had surpasses the North in commerce, in manufactures and in the accumulation of wealth, in proportion to the number of citizens in the respective sections."

He says truly, that in 1790, the two sections were about equal in population and wealth. But even here, where he has least to show, he shows a disposition to conceal unfavorable facts under a loose form of expression, when he could as easily have saved the simple truth without disguise. He says (page 1,) that "the territory there occupied by the two (the North and the South,) was perhaps also nearly equal in extent and fertility." Why this cautious language to convey a false impression? Why did he not say, in plain terms, what, we presume, he knew well enough, namely—that the Southern States were possessed, as the same old States now possess, a territory larger, by some 60,000 square miles, than the territory of the same Northern States—the Indian land being deducted from both? But this fact did not Mr. Fisher; it would have shown that from the beginning the Southern States had a great natural advantage for increase of wealth.

For the first quarter of a century," says he, p. 2, "up to 1816, the South took the lead of the North in commerce, as at the end of that period the exports of the Southern States amounted to about thirty millions, which was five millions more than the Northern."

Supposing his statement to be correct, we should have said that the South then exported more to foreign countries than the North. Commerce includes imports, as well as exports, domestic as well as foreign trade, the carrying trade as well as the direct. The North was, as now, more commercial, though the South, then, as now, exported a larger portion of her products to foreign countries. He should also have noticed that part of the exports from the Southern ports of Baltimore and New Orleans, were, and are the products of Northern States. But this is his way of dealing with statistics. When he finds a fact, which in the gross can be turned to the advantage of his argument, but which, on being analyzed would make the contrary, he lumps it, and draws from it a conclusion at once, without a hint of the deductions or additions that should be made, in order to arrive at a correct result. In this, too, as in other instances, he takes a fact relative to a part of the subject, and draws from it a conclusion that covers the whole subject, as he here infers the whole amount of trade from the export to foreign countries.

Now he argues (on p. 2,) that in 1815 the Southern people were wealthier than the Northern. Had he argued that with their natural advantages they ought to have been wealthier, we could have agreed with him at once. But we must examine his arguments respecting the fact that they were

assessments of taxable property made that year as the basis of direct taxes. According to this assessment the taxable property of the South amounted to \$829,500, and that of the North to \$1,012,700. Dividing these sums by the number of people in the two sections respectively, according to the preceding census of 1810, we find in the South an average amount of property about thirty dollars less per head than in the North. But as the North had, since 1810, increased a little faster in population than the South, we may assign a difference of twenty-five dollars a head in favor of the North, according to their assessment, which cannot however be relied on as an accurate valuation of the property of the two sections. Assessments for taxation are apt to vary considerably from the truth, because individuals are interested, for the most part in undervaluing, but sometimes in overvaluing their property. Much property, too, escapes this sort of assessment altogether—especially in the North, where there is so much invisible property in the form of stocks, bonds, cash, &c.

But how is this? Mr. Fisher makes the average wealth of the Southern people exceed that of the Northern by seventy-two dollars a head. How does he bring this difference about? He takes white population as population, and negro slaves as property only, putting them with the cattle and swine, as live stock, and nothing else. By this crafty management, he greatly reduces the Southern population, and thus brings out a much larger average of property for the Southern people. If he had, at the same time, deducted the value of the slaves from the amount of Southern property, there would have been something like fairness in the procedure. But this would not have suited his purpose, because then the average of Northern wealth would have been still greater.

Now the main drift of Mr. Fisher's argument is to show that slavery is a blessing, because it promotes the accumulation of wealth. "The first object of civilised life," says he, on p. 4, "is to accumulate wealth, as on that depends improvement in science and the arts, and the supply of the multiplied wants of society."

Having made this the test point, in order to determine whether an institution such as slavery is good or evil, he then proceeds to make out that slavery promotes the accumulation of wealth in the Southern States, and is therefore a blessing to them.

But there is another connected with it.—

In estimating the relative wealth of two States, might the value of the slaves be added to that of other property?

Our answer is, that it depends upon circumstances. If a State breeds slaves for exportation to other countries, and makes a profit by this business, as slave-breeders make a profit out of their capital invested in mares and jacks—then speaking economically, not morally, the capital thus invested in the business of breeding slaves, for exportation, is productive capital, and fairly constitutes a portion of the wealth of the slave-breeders. But, apart from this business of running slaves for foreign markets, the solution of the question depends entirely upon the fact, whether slave-labor is or is not more profitable than free-labor. If in the long-run, and upon the whole, an equal number of free-laborers in the country would make as much profit for the capitalists (say nothing of what they might make for themselves) then it is evident that the existence of slavery in the country adds nothing to its wealth; and slaves should not be reckoned, as constituting any portion of the general wealth of a State, whatever they may be to individuals who sell them. If they be sold by one citizen to another for home use, the price is no evidence of their being an addition to the general wealth of the slaveholders. They may command a price when sold, for two reasons, independent of their superior value to the owner above that of hired laborers.

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F. COSBY,  
JOHN H. HEYWOOD,  
NOBLE BUTLER,  
EDITORS.

LOUISVILLE.....JUNE 2, 1849.

"We send, occasionally, a number of the EXAMINER to persons who are not subscribers, in the hope, that by a perusal of it, they may be induced to subscribe."

**Central and Executive Committee on Emancipation.**

W. W. Worsley, Wm. Richardson,  
Wm. E. Glover, Reuben Dawson,  
David L. Beatty, Patrick Mackey,  
Bland Ballard, W. P. Boone,  
Thomas McGrail, Lewis Rufner,  
James Speed.

W. M. RICHARDSON, Treasurer.  
BLAND BALLARD, Corresponding Secretary.

**A Word to all Christians in Kentucky.**

"A time has come in Kentucky when the christian population of that noble and rapidly advancing State will speak and vote like christians at the polls, and demonstrate its love of liberty and right, by extending them to every thing in the form of man, that breathes its air or treads its soil. It will be her greatest honor, as I am sure it will be her greatest interest, to be first in this great work."

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.

**Correction.**

In the last six lines of the closing paragraph of the article entitled "Review of a lecture on the North and the South"—to be found on our first page—the figures 12,000—172,000—300,000 occur. It should be 12,000,000—172,000,000—300,000,000.

**Reply to Ellwood Fisher.**

We commence on the outside of to-day's paper the publication of an article which will be read with profound interest. It is from the pen of Henry Rufner, D. D., the author of the able "Address to the People of West Virginia."

**To the Public.**

My connection with the Examiner ceases with the present number. I have not taken this step from any dissatisfaction with my colleagues, but for reasons of a purely personal nature, which neither they nor I could control. My intercourse with the gentlemen associated with me in the conduct of the paper, has been that of uniform kindness and confidence, and I feel the less regret at leaving the post I have so long occupied, from the assured conviction that in their hands, the paper will lose none of its interest, the cause no strength. I will merely add, that in advocating Emancipation in Kentucky, I have been actuated by no mercenary or ambitious motive, but solely by the persuasion that its accomplishment would best promote the best interests of my native State. To the principles set forth in the resolutions of the recent Convention in Frankfort, I subscribe without qualification or reserve. I believe firmly in their ultimate and near success, and that that success can result only in good to our glorious Commonwealth.

F. Cosby.

Our readers will perceive from the brief vocabulary of Mr. Cosby that his connection with the paper ceases with the present number. We regret the necessity of parting with one with whom we have been long and happily united.—The fine intellect, the rare accomplishments, and many interesting traits, by which Mr. Cosby is distinguished, render him, as all his friends know, a delightful associate and companion. Our best wishes will attend him wherever he may go.

**Cities.**

Mr. Ellwood Fisher, in his defence of slavery, attributes the alleged superiority of the South to its agricultural pursuits, for which negro slavery is said to furnish peculiar facilities. He lavishes his praises upon a purely agricultural life, and seems to consider cities nothing but evil. All his reasoning rests upon this view. He is like all men that take extreme positions. We think it may be proved that cities have their use, and that the most favorable state of things exists in that country in which there is a due mixture of agricultural, commercial and manufacturing industry.

Mr. F. quotes that well-known verse—

"God made the country, but man made the town;" Which contains just about as much sense, as "who drives at oxen must himself be fat."

When Mr. F. speaks of the country, he means the country in its agricultural state, covered with houses, barns, fences and stables. Where else do learn, except from his poetry, that the Deity concerned himself more immediately in making the fences of the country than in building the houses of the town? If he had been speaking of some of our vast wildernesses, in which the sound of the axe has never been heard, his poetry might have some relevancy; but as things are, we do not see what superiority it possesses over many other efforts of the imagination, which are to be seen in the pamphlet.

If one kind of labor is to exist, to the entire exclusion of every other kind, agriculture should, of course, have the preference. But if ever wealth is acquired by agricultural pursuits, commercial and manufacturing industry must be joined with them. Without commerce the farmer would produce nothing but what could be consumed on the ground. How, then, could he become wealthy? He might have millions of bushels of grain more than would be necessary for his own use, but if he had no means of exchanging the superfluous grain for other articles needed by him, it would have no value. Whatever tends to promote this exchange, commerce; and for the prosecution of commerce, cities are necessary. Where would the Virginia gentleman get his carriage, which Mr. Fisher considers so good a criterion of happiness, if there were no commercial and no manufacturing industry? The Southern planter, without commerce, and without the results of manufacturing industry, would be surrounded by immense piles of unguined cotton, which would be of about as much use to him as piles of gold would have been to Robinson Crusoe on his island.

The beautiful earth produces what is necessary for man's physical well-being. The intelligence of man sees that one portion of the soil will bring forth abundantly one thing, and another portion will produce another. He makes use of the forces of nature in the places where he can make them the most productive, depending upon his intelligence to find the means of removing the fruits of the earth to the places in which they are to be used. He employs labor and intelligence in bringing forth the productions of the earth; he employs labor and intelligence in removing them to the places in which he needs them. He also employs labor and intelligence in converting the salinaceous which the earth has produced into forms which render them convenient for use. These three forms in which labor and intelligence are employed, constitute agricultural, commercial and manufacturing industry. There is nothing in the nature of one of these forms to render it superior to either of the others. Agricultural labor gives value, manufacturing labor gives value, and commercial labor gives value. For the labor of commerce, and for the perfection of manufacturing industry, cities are necessary.

But cities are of great advantage in other points of view. To cities, the world has been indebted more than once for the benefit of civilization:

"The influence of the cities of ancient Greece is well known. The Greek States were merely cities with small territories attached to them. 'The whole political life of the nation,' says Herodotus, 'was connected with cities and their constitutions; and no one can judge of Greek history with accuracy, unless he comprehends the spirit of them.' The strength of such cities seems to be very limited, but the history of the world abounds in examples which show how far beyond expectation they can rise. They are animated by public spirit, resulting from civil prosperity; and the force of their spirit can be expressed in no statistical tables." It was in these cities that republican principles had their birth.

The philosophy of Socrates received its form from his connection with the social life of the city. It was from the city that the 'gurus of Academus' were filled when Plato taught. The Lyceum where Aristotle walked and conversed was in the city; and it was in the city that Zenon found the "Painted Porch" in which he delivered his doctrines. It was before the inhabitants of the city that the works of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides were represented. It was for cities that Phidias and Praxiteles moulded the marble; and Apelles and Zeuxis clothed the canvass with the hues of life. In short, whatever were the advantages of ancient civilization, to cities did they owe their origin.

But we did not begin with the intention of treating of the civilization of Greece. We wished to refer to the effects of cities upon modern times. The cities of the middle ages were the parents of modern liberty. In the country, there was nothing but the 'Suzerain and his serfs—the proud owner of the land, and the slaves who cultivated it. There was no such thing as freedom. The world was in that delightful condition which Mr. Fisher considers the best idea of property—that in which the property of the country is owned by a few, and all the laborers are slaves. We have no doubt that the average wealth of all the individuals who held property was far greater than it is even in Virginia. The number of landholders was so delightfully small, that each one was gloriously rich. Those who in countries that have the misfortune to contain free laborers, have a share of the property, and thus diminish the average wealth of each property-holder, and, according to Mr. Fisher, impair the general prosperity of the State, made themselves wealthy by becoming property themselves. A state of things existed which, according to Mr. Fisher's principles, ought to form a perfect paradise. But historians, not being blessed with the light that has burst upon Mr. F., have given us a very unfavorable account of those times. They give us gloomy pictures of degradation, and suffering, and vice. The proud nobel built himself a castle, and made himself the terror of the surrounding country. The gloomy castle, looking on the hill like a stony-hearted demon, frowned down every attempt at improvement. It was even before the eyes of the self, like a Gorgon's head, chilling every aspiring feeling into stone. Man was considered a mere appendage to the soil, *glare adscriptus*. The baron himself was a slave to his land. In the strong language of Michelet,

"Men are attached to the ground; he has taken root in the rock where his tower rises." "Life is man; it belongs to man; it must remain a unit, and pass to the eldest. A person immortal, indifferent, pitiless, it knows neither nature nor humanity. The eldest most is possessed. The usage of his land rules him, this proud baron; his land governs him, imposes upon him his duties; according to the strong expression of the middle ages, he must serve his fief."

The state of things was sufficiently agricultural for perhaps even Mr. Fisher. Society was what devoted to one idea made it. It was enveloped in the blackest clouds of ignorance and vice. If no other element had entered into it, it would have remained in this condition forever. The vast majority of mankind would have remained degraded slaves, the master being himself a slave.

All authors concur in representing the cities of the middle ages as the chief instrument in the removal of these evils, and as the parents of liberty and civilization. "It was by means of cities then," says Michelet, "that liberty was to begin." Robertson, speaking of the institution of communities says:—"The good of men in this new institution were immediately felt, and its influence on government as well as manners was no less extensive than salutary.—A great body of the people was released from servitude, and from all the arbitrary and grievous impositions which that wretched condition had subjected them. Towns, upon securing the right of community, became so many little republics, governed by known and equal law."

Gloizot shows that the democracy of modern times had its origin in the cities. "The predominant character of the modern corporation," says he "was democracy." He says that in the feudal period, "It is in the country districts that the lords, the masters of the territory and of power, live."

It was not only upon the liberty of the citizen but upon the state of agriculture itself that the cities exerted a beneficial influence. Gibbon speaking of the cities of Italy, says "Under the protection of equal law, the labors of agriculture and commerce were gradually revived." "The progress of cities," says Rotteck, "was also advantageous to agriculture, which had to furnish the citizens with the necessaries of life, and the raw materials for the different trade."

We might quote from Hume and Hallam, and indeed, increase the number of quotations if necessary. We have brought these forward to show that some men who have studied these matters differ from Mr. Fisher. Though one of the authors whose language we have quoted, may be possessed of abilities equal to that of Mr. F., we think their combined authority of some weight.

Mr. Fisher himself, on the very same page in which he is speaking of the tendency of cities "fatal in the first place to liberty in government, and finally to independence in the nation," mentions a fact which is directly contrary to his position. "Amongst the early white settlers of Virginia," says he, "were many of the Cavaliers who had been driven into exile by the triumph of the Roundheads and of Cromwell. The Cavaliers were of the party country in England; the cities and towns were more generally devoted to the Roundheads." It is not necessary for us to say that of the two parties contained the friends of liberty—the Cavaliers, the supporters of the tyrant Charles, or the Roundheads, who, whatever may have been their errors, never faltered in the struggle for liberty.

The principles of Mr. Fisher, if carried out, would lead him to prefer the savage life to that of civilized society. He is, we suppose, a disciple of Jean Jacques Rousseau. We are sure that if his principles were to go into full operation in the Southern States, unaffected by the influence of the rest of the world, these States would lapse into barbarism. Build a wall around them—and to throw around them—they would be prohibited—let the mechanic arts be expelled, and in a short time they would present a darker picture than was presented in the darkest period of the dark ages. There would

be more than the haughtiness of the baron, and more than the degradation of the serf.

The city and the country, in enlightened communities, flourish together. One helps the other, and neither could prosper without the aid of the other. He who attempts to excite a feeling in either, against the other, acts about as wisely as if he were to attempt to get up a second quarrel between the belly and the members.

We close our article with an extract or two from the *Encyclopædia Americana*:

"With these (cities) civilization and political institutions began; and in them were developed the principles of democracy, or of equal rights in the middle ages." "The authority of the king was weak. His connexion with the different parts of his dominions imperfect, and the progress of civilization was promoted almost solely by the growth of cities. They gave rise to the division of labor, the refinements of social intercourse, and the development of the law, caused by the conflicting interests of many people living close together. The growth of cities, the diminution of space for administration, the growth of population, sprang from the sense of advantages enjoyed, and the exertions necessary to maintain them. These were the salutary consequences of the establishment of cities." "Well organized municipal institutions, in which the government is imperishably renown by the delivery, at this most interesting and critical juncture in our country's history, of a speech of great ability, to the people who are not hostile to it, and ought to permit those who louche the institution as pestilential, to enjoy exemption from its withering influences. But these wrong-headed men persist in forcing slavery among those who are utterly opposed to its presence, and at the same time they denounce any infringement of their rights to hold and enjoy slavery as an atrocity which rightfully subjects every man who is guilty of such infringement to death, by hanging on the first limb of the first tree!"

We shall await the arrival of Mr. Benton's great speech on slavery with much anxiety.—From the exceedingly slight account of it as transmitted by telegraph, we feel certain that the Missouri Senator has entitled himself to imperishable renown by the delivery, at this most interesting and critical juncture in our country's history, of a speech of great ability, to the people who are not hostile to it, and ought to permit those who louche the institution as pestilential, to enjoy exemption from its withering influences. But these wrong-headed men persist in forcing slavery among those who are utterly opposed to its presence, and at the same time they denounce any infringement of their rights to hold and enjoy slavery as an atrocity which rightfully subjects every man who is guilty of such infringement to death, by hanging on the first limb of the first tree!

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The following article is from the pen of one of the most respectable citizens of Jefferson county, a member of a family possessed of a large number of slaves.

**The Influence of Slavery on the Price of Land, and the Profits of its Culture—Responsibility of Slavery Shall be Perpetuated?**

**GENTLEMEN:**—In compliance with your request, the writer submits for publication Mr. Stabler's letter to Warrick Miller, Esq., and certain other facts and opinions, illustrating the baneful effects of Slavery on the pecuniary interest of landholders, to which are appended some moral reflections of the nature indicated in the caption. Disregarding, however, the order in which the various materials for this compilation have just been mentioned, he deems it proper to advert, in the first place, to the opinions of Mr. Carey, the author of "The Past, Present, and Future," as to the connection subsisting between the progress of a State in population and manufactures, and the advancement in value of its lands:

"We shall await the arrival of Mr. Benton's great speech on slavery with much anxiety.—From the exceedingly slight account of it as transmitted by telegraph, we feel certain that the Missouri Senator has entitled himself to imperishable renown by the delivery, at this most interesting and critical juncture in our country's history, of a speech of great ability, to the people who are not hostile to it, and ought to permit those who louche the institution as pestilential, to enjoy exemption from its withering influences. But these wrong-headed men persist in forcing slavery among those who are utterly opposed to its presence, and at the same time they denounce any infringement of their rights to hold and enjoy slavery as an atrocity which rightfully subjects every man who is guilty of such infringement to death, by hanging on the first limb of the first tree!"

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ance of Him, who hath said—"What God hath joined together let no man put asunder." And indeed, if the restrictions upon the slave trade be not made greater in the New Constitution than under the present, there will be disruptions by the wholesale, of those tendencies, where-with God meant to sweeten the existence of the humblest partaker of his bounties. It becomes every citizen, then, to strive for that object, or he consents to the outrage, and must share the

manner. And whenever such discussion can be had, prejudices will give way before the light of truth, and friends will be made to the cause.

—Samuel Shy, Esq., has been nominated for the Convention by the friends of emancipation in Fayette, in place of Col. Rodes, declined. Mr. S. has accepted the nomination, and will open the canvass to-day at Lexington.

For the Examiner.  
Caldwell County.

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Resolved, That we are in favor of abolishing all slavery in the Commonwealth, and that the clause "of during good behavior" should be restricted to a term of years, varying the length of that term, with the character and importance of the service.

Resolved, That we are in favor of making all officers of the government (from the highest to the lowest grade) elective by the people.

Resolved, That the sessions of the Legislature should be held only once in two years.

Resolved, That we are in favor of some modification in our Coopetition system.

GENTLEMEN.—As you did not, in your last paper, notice the fact that we have organized an Emancipation party in Fayette county, on the Frankfort Convention platform, I presume you are ignorant of the fact. On the 12th inst., at a very large and respectable meeting of the citizens of Lexington and the county, R. J. Breckinridge and Col. Wm. Rodes were nominated as our candidates. Since that day Col. Rodes declined the nomination on account of his inability to present the cause before the public in the manner demanded by its importance, at the same time, expressing his cordial assent to the Frankfort Resolutions, and his conviction that a full and fair discussion of the issues presented would produce a mighty revolution in the public mind. The place of Col. Rodes was, in the course of this week, supplied by the nomination of some gentleman capable and willing to advance our cause everywhere and at all times. On Saturday night Dr. Breckinridge announced his acceptance of the nomination tendered him, and concluded the canvass in a speech which, for soul-stirring eloquence and deep convincing argument had seldom, if ever, been equalled—never surpassed. His praises are in every lip. Friends and foes alike are awarding him the highest applause; and we only wish that every voter in Kentucky had been under the sound of his voice. By his skilful presentation of the subject, his forcible illustrations and powerful enforcement of it, he has already dwarfed his opponents and filled them with distrust of their cause and fear of Emancipation.

We cannot yet speak with certainty of the result in Fayette, but we can say that the skies are growing brighter—our friends are becoming more confident, and we intend to merit, if we do not attain, success. We every day hear of new friends who, gathering confidence from the show of strength we have already made, hesitate no longer to declare themselves on our side. We know that there is still a great strength in the back ground, which, because it lacks information or the inclination to move, has as yet made no step either for or against us, and we have an abiding hope based on some remote indications, that the justice of our cause will allure them to our standard. Effort shall not be wanting to bring about this result. We are in earnest in this matter, and we invoke our friends in other counties not to let the propitious moments glide by in which our great work must be accomplished. We are engaged in an undertaking of vast magnitude, and two months is a very short time to consummate it. What wisdom is there in delay? Why procrastinate action? It is of the utmost importance that we improve our strength in the State; for the greater our numbers, even though a minority, the greater consideration we will extort from our adversaries, and the greater probability that they will concede a compromise which will yield to something of the greatest principle for which we are struggling. To illustrate: If it appears that the Emancipation party, if defeated in the approaching election, will be defeated by a majority of the Whig and Democratic parties—the delegates in Convention will not expect the union to last any longer than the exigency which forced its existence, and they will expect union to be dissolved and return to its original elements as soon as the Constitution is framed. What are they to rely on for future protection?—and when will they reap their reward for their sacrifices of justice and truth, framing a pro-slavery Constitution? As instruments, tools which have served their purpose, they will be cast aside among worn out rabbish, and be buried in the oblivion of a well merited contempt. Again, it may be necessary to reject the new Constitution, and to be most efficient in that endeavor, we should commence an organization now. These suggestions are based on the presumption that we will prove a respectable minority, and at least hold the balance of power in each county or in the State—We are in that condition that an overwhelming defeat, does not destroy us necessarily, but our condition, whether we meet with defeat or triumph, requires imperatively a vigorous and instant organization of our forces, and the presentation of candidates in every county where we have a single friend.

Let us take courage. There is everything to cheer us. We have embarked in a glorious cause—one, accordant with the law of God and sense of natural justice. The outside world is looking on us with admiration, and are only retarded by policy from bestowing on us their warmest and loudest applause. Our path is a broad and bright one—and there is no reason why our names and our efforts shall not be recorded in history, along side of those illustrious and glorious examples, which have come down to us consecrated by the applause of generations and ages.

FREEMAN.

Franklin County.

We copy the following letter, written to an active emancipationist of this city, to show what folly it is to pursue a timid, faltering course, and to point out to young men struggling for distinction and popularity a safe and easy way to the attainment of their laudable ambition, of a reputation truly desirable and lasting.

The cause of emancipation is a growing cause. Every hour adds to its strength. Its march is onward—onward; it cannot fail, if it cannot fail—sustained by the progressive spirit of the age, it must conquer.

MANSON, Ky., May 23, 1849.

Dear Sir—I received your favor of the 18th instant, and answer say that I am happy to be able to inform you we are progressing finely in the cause of emancipation.

John S. Gilliam is our candidate for the Convention, which had recently amended their constitutions, and had formed constitutions. He mentioned Mississippi, Alabama, Missouri, Iowa and Wisconsin.

It had been unanimously adopted by those who are best advised concerning the strength of the question of emancipation in this country, but that we will succeed, some two to one in this country; and, judging from the present state of things, and how they stood four weeks ago, I can safely say that Caldwell and Livingston counties are much stronger than this, provided some gentlemen there step forward in the work as Gilliam and others did in this county. So very shortly seemed our prospects of success, but my friends would, perhaps, be pleased forever. They honestly thought that not exceeding fifty persons in the entire county would believe with me. Now what a change!

I wrote, some days since, to the editors of the "Examiner," to send me 500 "Addresses to the People of Kentucky"; also, the same number of "Addresses to the Non-slaveholders." They sent them to me, but they were not exceeding half enough to answer the demand for so many. I only procured them for the use and benefit of this county, but many from all the adjoining counties came to me for them, and I had to let them go. Please send me any papers you may think will prove advantageous to the cause; you may send them by mail if you so desire.

We would be glad if some gentleman, when canvassing the State, would give us a call; and if we can be advised of it some ten or twelve days previous, we will be able to have a respectable company to hear him.

Yours, truly.

Emancipation Meeting in Nicholas County.

At a meeting of a number of the citizens of Nicholas County, composed of both of the great political parties, opposed to the increase and perpetuation of slavery in Kentucky, held at the Court House in the town of Cadizle, on Thursday the 24th day of June, 1849, Thompson Park was called to the chair and W. P. Ross appointed Secretary.

Upon motion, Thos. E. Quisenberry, Alex. Blair, Dr. T. Hinde, Moses F. Glenn, and Joseph Bedinger, were appointed a committee to draft and report resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting, who having retired a short time, returned and reported the following, which were unanimously adopted, to-wit:

WHEREAS—Regarding domestic slavery, as a great social and political evil, we deem that true philanthropy and patriotism requires, in view of the approaching change to be made in the organic law, that we should make every effort in our power, to prevent a further increase or a perpetuation of slavery in Kentucky. Be it

therefore

Resolved, That though we do not at this time propose engraving in the new constitution any clause providing for a system of emancipation, yet we are in favor of incorporating in said constitution the principles of the law of 1833.

Resolved, That we are in favor in the new constitution, whereby any specific amendment may be made, without the expense of calling a convention, as now provided.

Resolved, That we will not support any candidate for a seat in the Convention, who is opposed to the "open clause," and the "law of 1833."

Resolved, That these proceedings be signed, and that a copy thereof be transmitted to the Editor of the "Mayville Eagle" for publication, with a request that the "Herald" and other papers will be given to the cause, copy.

For the Examiner.  
Caldwell County.

At a public meeting held in the town of Princeton on Monday, the 21st inst., on motion of the Hon. Bezard Davidge was called to the chair, and Dr. G. J. Park appointed Secretary. The following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

WHEREAS, It has been deliberately determined upon by the people of Kentucky to hold a Convention for the purpose of remodeling the constitution of the State, and the Legislature of the State by an act of the last session has fixed upon the first Monday in October next, for the assembling of the delegates to be elected at the next annual election in August, and whereas it is due to the spirit and freedom of the age that the popular will should be fully represented in the deliberations of that Convention; and whereas there is a better mode of arriving at or indicating what popular will by primary meetings of the people assembled to express their sentiments in reference to the various measures of Constitutional reform, which will be taken into consideration by the delegates in convention assembled. Therefore, the people here assembled, as a part of the sovereignty of the great Commonwealth, feeling that we have a stake in this great work of reform, and having an equal right with others to an expression of our opinions about the reform that should be made in our organic law, do adopt and publish the following resolutions, containing briefly our views of the important reforms which should be engrossed in the new constitution:

Resolved, That we are in favor of abolishing all slavery in the Commonwealth, and that the clause "of during good behavior" should be restricted to a term of years, varying the length of that term, with the character and importance of the service.

Resolved, That we are in favor of making all officers of the government (from the highest to the lowest grade) elective by the people.

Resolved, That we are in favor of some modification in our Coopetition system.

Resolved, That we are in favor of the "open clause," and the "law of 1833."

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WHEREAS, It has been deliberately determined upon by the people of Kentucky to hold a Convention for the purpose of remodeling the constitution of the State, and the Legislature of the State by an act of the last session has fixed upon the first Monday in October next, for the assembling of the delegates to be elected at the next annual election in August, and whereas it is due to the spirit and freedom of the age that the popular will should be fully represented in the deliberations of that Convention; and whereas there is a better mode of arriving at or indicating what popular will by primary meetings of the people assembled to express their sentiments in reference to the various measures of Constitutional reform, which will be taken into consideration by the delegates in convention assembled. Therefore, the people here assembled, as a part of the sovereignty of the great Commonwealth, feeling that we have a stake in this great work of reform, and having an equal right with others to an expression of our opinions about the reform that should be made in our organic law, do adopt and publish the following resolutions, containing briefly our views of the important reforms which should be engrossed in the new constitution:

Resolved, That we are in favor of abolishing all slavery in the Commonwealth, and that the clause "of during good behavior" should be restricted to a term of years, varying the length of that term, with the character and importance of the service.

Resolved, That we are in favor of making all officers of the government (from the highest to the lowest grade) elective by the people.

Resolved, That we are in favor of some modification in our Coopetition system.

Resolved, That we are in favor of the "open

## LITERARY EXAMINER.

A LAMENT.

BY D. F. McCARTHY.

Va esta llama se desata,

Va cada vez edificando,

Va desuniendo cada flor.

CALDERON.

The dream is over,  
The vision has flown;  
Dead leaves are lying  
Where roses have blown;  
Withered and strown  
Are the hopes I cherished,  
All have perished  
But grief alone.

My heart was a garden  
Where fresh leaves grow;  
Flowers there were many,  
And weeds a few;  
Cold winds blew,  
And the frost came thither,  
For flowers will wither,  
And weeds renew!

Yonith's bright palace  
Is overthrown.  
With its diamond aspere  
And golden throne;  
As a time-worn stone  
Its turrets are humbled,  
All have crumbled  
But grief alone!

Whither, oh! whither  
Have fled away  
The dreams and hopes  
Of my early day?  
Ruined and gray  
Are the towers I built;  
And the beams that gilded  
Ah! where are they?

Once this world  
Was fresh and bright,  
With its golden moon  
And starry night;  
Glad and light,  
By mountain and river,  
Have I beseit'd the Giver  
With hush'd delight.

These were the days  
Of story and song,  
When Hope had a meaning  
And Faith was strong.  
Life will be long,  
And lit with Love's a gleaming;  
Such were my dreams,  
But, ah! how wrong!

Youth's illusions,  
One by one,  
Have piled like clouds  
That the sun looked on.  
While morning shone,  
How purple their fringes!  
How ash'ly their tinges  
When that was gone!

Darkness that cometh  
Ere morn has fled—  
Boughs that wither  
Ere fruits are shed—  
Death bells instead  
Of a bridal's pealings—  
Such are my feelings,  
Since Hope is dead!

Sad is the knowledge  
That cometh with years—  
Bitter the tree  
That is watered with tears;  
Truth appears,  
With his wise predictions,  
Then vanish the fictions  
Of boyhood's years.

As fire-fires fade  
When the nights are damp—  
As meteors are quenched  
In a stagnant swamp—  
Thus Charlemagne's camp,  
Where the Paladins rally,  
And the Diamond Valley,  
And Wonderful Lamp,

And all the wonders  
Of Ganges and Nile,  
And Haroun's rambles,  
And Crusoe's isle,  
And Princes who smile  
On the Genii's daughters  
'Neath the Orient waters  
Full many a mile.

And all that the pen  
Of Caesar can write,  
Must vanish,  
In manhood's misty light—  
Spite and knight,  
And daunces' glances,  
Sunny romances  
So pure and bright!

These have vanished,  
And what remains,  
Life's budding garlands  
Have turned to chains—  
Its beams and rains  
Feed but dock and thistles  
And sorrow whistles  
D'er desert plains!

The dove will fly  
From her nest—  
Love will not dwell—  
In a troubled breast—  
The heart has no rest  
To sweeten life's dolor—  
If Love, the Couseler,  
Be not its guest!

The dream is over,  
The vision has flown;  
Dead leaves are lying  
Where roses have blown;  
Withered and strown  
Are the hopes I cherished,  
All have perished  
But grief alone!

From Chambers' Journal.  
Experiences of a Barrister.

THE NORTHERN CIRCUIT.

About the commencement of the present century there stood, near the centre of a rather extensive hamlet, not many miles distant from a northern seaport town, a large, substantially-built, but somewhat straggling building, known as Craig Farm, (popularly Crook Farm) house. The farm consisted of about one hundred acres of tolerable arable and meadow land; and at the time I have indicated, belonged to a farmer of the name of Armstrong. He had purchased it about three years previously, at a sale held in pursuance of a decree of the High Court of Chancery, for the purpose of liquidating certain costs incurred in the suit of Craig *versus* Craig, which the said High Court had nursed so long and successfully, as to enable the solicitor of the victorious claimant to incarcerate his triumphant client for several years in the Fleet, in 'satisfaction' of the charges of victory remaining due after the proceeds of the sale of Craig Farm had been deducted from the gross to total. Farmer Armstrong was married, but childless; his dame, like himself, was a native of Devonshire. They bore the character of a plodding, taciturn, iron-mannered couple; seldom leaving the farm except to attend market, and rarely seen at church or chapel, they naturally enough became objects of suspicion and dislike to the prying, gossiping villagers, to whom mystery or reserve of any kind was of course exceedingly annoying and unpleasant.

Soon after Armstrong was settled in his new purchase another stranger arrived, and took up his abode in the best apartments of the house. The new-comer, a man of about fifty years of age, and evidently, from his dress and gait, a seafaring person, was as reserved and unsocial as his landlord. His name, or at least that which he chose to be known by, was Wilson. He had one child, a daughter, about thirteen years of age, whom he placed at a boarding-school in the adjacent town. He seldom saw her; the intercourse between the father and daughter being principally carried on through Mary Strugnell, a widow of about thirty years of age, and a native of the place. She was engaged as a servant to Mr. Wilson, and soon left Craig Farm except on Sunday afternoons, when the weather was at all

sufficient, she paid a visit to an inn living in the town; there saw Miss Wilson, and returned home usually at half past ten o'clock—later rather than earlier. Armstrong was occasionally absent from his home for several days together, on business; it was rumored, for Wilson; and on the Sunday in the first week of January 1802, both he and his wife had been away for upwards of a week, and were not yet returned.

About a quarter past ten o'clock on that evening the early retiring inhabitants of the hamlet were roused from their slumbers by a loud continuous knocking at the front door of Armstrong's house; louder, and louder, more and more vehement and impatient, resounded the blows upon the stillness of the night, till the soundest sleepers were awakened. Windows were hastily thrown open, and presently numerous foot-steps approached the scene of growing hubbub. The unwonted noise was caused, it was found, by Farmer Armstrong, who, accompanied by his wife, was thundering vehemently upon the door with a heavy black-thorn stick. Still no answer was obtained. Mrs. Strugnell, it was supposed, had not returned from town; but where was Mr. Wilson, who was almost always at the writing-desk kept? In the little table-drawer, was the reply. Armstrong then came out of the bedroom, and both went into Mr. Wilson's sitting apartment. They soon returned, and crept stealthily along the passage to their own bedroom on the same floor. They then went down stairs to the kitchen. One of them—the woman, she had no doubt—went out the backway, and heavy foot-steps again descended the stairs. Almost dead with flight, she then crawled under the bedstead, and remembered no more till she found herself surrounded by the villagers.

In confirmation of this statement, a large clasp-knife belonging to Armstrong, and with which it was evident the murder had been perpetrated, was found in one corner of Wilson's bedroom; and a mortgage deed for one thousand pounds on Craig Farm, the property of Wilson, and which Strugnell was always kept in the writing-desk in the front room, was discovered in a chest in the prisoner's sleeping apartment, together with nearly one hundred and fifty pounds in gold, silver, and county bank notes, although it was known that Armstrong had but a fortnight before declined a very advantageous offer of some cows he was desirous of purchasing, under the plea of being short of cash. Worse perhaps than all, a key of the back-door was found in his pocket, which not only confirmed Strugnell's evidence, but clearly demonstrated that the knocking at the door for admittance, which had roused and alarmed the hamlet was a pure subterfuge. The conclusion, therefore, almost universally arrived at throughout the neighborhood was, that Armstrong and his wife were the guilty parties, and that the bundles, the broken locks, the sheet hanging out of the window, the shiny, black hat, were, like the knocking, mere cunning devices to mislead inquiry.

The case excited great interest in the county, and I esteemed myself professionally fortunate in being selected to hold the trial for the prosecution. I had satisfied myself, by a perusal of the depositions, that there was no doubt of the prisoners' guilt, and I determined that no effort on my part should be spared to insure the accomplishment of the ends of justice. I drew the indictment myself; and in my opening address to the jury, dwelt with all the force and eloquence of which I was master upon the heinous nature of the crime, and the conclusiveness of the evidence by which it had been brought home to the prisoners. I may here, by way of parenthesis, mention that I resorted to a plan in my address to the jury which I have seldom known to fail. It consisted in fixing my eyes and addressing my language to each juror one after the other. In this way each considers the address to be an appeal to his individual intelligence, and responds to it by falling into the views of the barrister. On this occasion the jury easily fell into the trap. I could see that I had got them into the humor of putting confidence in the evidence I had produced.

The trial proceeded. The cause of the death was scientifically stated by two medical men. Next followed the evidence as to the finding of the knife in the bedroom of the deceased; the discovery of the mortgage-deed, and the large sum of money, in the prisoners' sleeping apartment; the finding the key of the back-door in the male prisoner's pocket, and his demeanor and expressions on the night of the perpetration of the crime. In his cross-examination of the constable, several facts perfectly new to me were elicited by the very able council for the prisoners. Their attorney had judiciously maintained the strictest secrecy as to the nature of the defence, so that it now took me completely by surprise. The constable in reply to questions by counsel, stated that the pockets of the deceased were empty; that not only his purse, but a gold watch, chain, and seals which he usually wore, had vanished, and no trace of them had as yet been discovered. Many other things were also missing. A young man of the name of Pearce, apparently a sutor, had been seen in the village once or twice in the company of Mary Strugnell; but he did not notice what sort of hat he generally wore; he had not seen Pearce since the night the crime was committed; had not sought for him.

Mary Strugnell was the next witness.—She repeated her previous evidence with precision and apparent sincerity, and then I abandoned her with a mixed feeling of anxiety and curiosity to the counsel for the defence. A subtle and able cross-examination of more than two hours' duration followed; and at its conclusion, I felt that the cause for the prosecution was so damaged, that a verdict of condemnation was, or ought to be, out of the question. The salient points dwelt upon, varied in every possible way, in this long sifting, were these:

'What was the reason she did not return in the evening in question to her aunt's to supper, as usual?'—

'She did not know, except that she wished to get home.'

'Did she keep company with a man of the name of Pearce?'—

'She had walked out with him once or twice.'

'When was the last time?'—

'She did not remember.'

'Did Pearce walk with her home on the night of the murder?'—

'No.'

'Not part of the way.'

'Yes; part of the way.'

'Did Pearce sometimes wear a black, shiny hat?'—

'No—yes; she did not remember.'

'Where was Pearce now?'—

'She did not know.'

'Had he disengaged since that Sunday evening?'—

'She did not know.'

'Had she seen him since?'—

'No.'

'Had Mr. Wilson ever threatened to discharge her for insolence to Mrs. Armstrong?'—

'She did not know.'

'Had she seen him since?'—

'No.'

'Had Mr. Wilson ever threatened to dis-

charge her for insolence to Mrs. Arm-

strong?'—

'Yes, and presently his door was tried, and a voice in a low burr whisper said, "Mary, are you there?" She was positive it was Mr. Armstrong's voice, but was too terrified to answer. Then Mrs. Armstrong, she was sure it was she, said also in a whisper, and as if addressing her husband, "She is never back at this hour." A minute or so after there was a tap at Mr. Wilson's door. She could not catch what answer was made; but by Armstrong's reply, she gathered that Mr. Wilson had lain down, and did not wish to be disturbed. He was often in the habit of lying down with his clothes on. Armstrong said, "I will not disturb you, sir; I'll only just put this parcel on the table." There is no lock to Mr. Wilson's door. Armstrong stepped into the room, and almost immediately she heard a sound as of a violent blow, followed by a deep groan, and then all was still. She was paralyzed with horror and affright.—After the lapse of a few seconds, a voice—Mrs. Armstrong's undoubtedly—asked in a tremulous tone if all was over? Her husband answered "Yes; but where the keys of the writing-desk kept?" In the little table-drawer, was the reply. Armstrong then came out of the bedroom, and both went into Mr. Wilson's sitting apartment. They soon returned, and crept stealthily along the passage to their own bedroom on the same floor. They then went down stairs to the kitchen. One of them—the woman, she had no doubt—went out the backway, and heavy foot-steps again descended the stairs. Almost dead with flight, she then crawled under the bedstead, and remembered no more till she found herself surrounded by the villagers.'

The outbreak of the prisoner was checked and rebuked by the judge, and the cross-examination soon afterwards closed. Had the counsel been allowed to follow up his advantage by an address to the jury, he would, I doubt not, spite of their prejudices against the prisoners, have obtained an acquittal; but as it was, after a neutral sort of charge from the judge, by no means the ablest that then adorned the bench, the jurors having deliberated for something more than half an hour, returned into court with a verdict of "guilty" against both prisoners, accompanying it, however, with a strong recommendation to mercy!

"Mercy!" said the judge. "What for?" On what ground?

The jurors stared at each other and at the judge; they had no reason to give! The fact was, their conviction of the prisoners' guilt had been very much shaken by the cross-examination of the chief witness for the prosecution, and their recommendation was a compromise which conscience made with doubt. I have known many such instances.

The usual ridiculous formality of asking the wretched convicts what they had to urge why sentence should not be passed upon them was gone through; the judge, with unmoveable gravity, put on the fatal cap, and sent the condemned to the gallows.

"Stop, my lord!" exclaimed Armstrong with rough vehemence. "Hear me speak! I'll tell ye all about it; I will indeed, my lord. Quiet, Martha, I tell ye. It's, my lord, that's guilty, not the woman. God bless ye, my lord, not the wife! Don't hurt the wife, and I'll tell ye all about it. I alone am guilty; not, the Lord be praised, of murder, but of robbery!"

"John!—John!" sobbed the wife, clinging passionately to her husband, "let us die together!"

"Quiet, Martha, I tell ye! Yes, my lord, I've tell ye all about it. I was gone away, wife and I, for more nor a week, to receive money for Mr. Wilson, on account of snatched away, was always kept in the writing-desk in the front room, was discovered in a chest in the prisoner's sleeping apartment, together with nearly one hundred and fifty pounds in gold, silver, and county bank notes, although it was known that Armstrong had been abroad for some time.

"I alone am guilty; not, the Lord be praised, of murder, but of robbery!"

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